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## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

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November 24, 1959

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PERSONAL

TO

: Mr. Allen Dulles

FROM

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SUBJECT

: Your Request Re Madariaga

I think the following is what you were looking for:

"STATEMENT BY SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA (EXCERPT), FEBRUARY 25, 1932 1/

... one might wonder why the Soviet delegation, and it alone, was in the privileged position of being able to submit a proposal for total disarmament. M. de Madariaga asked M. Litvinoff's permission to relate a fable with the spirit of which he was not in agreement, for he considered it contrary to disarmament, but which had already been recalled in a speech by a former Minister of the United Kingdom;

The animals had met to disarm. The lion, looking sideways at the eagle, said; "Wings must be abolished". The eagle, looking at the bull, declared: "Horns must be abolished". The bull, looking at the tiger, said: "Paws, and especially claws, must be abolished". The bear in his turn said: "All arms must be abolished; all that is necessary is a universal embrace".

The only possible course was the gradual evolution of new institutions within the League of Nations. The existence of the League was dependent upon its becoming universal. Indeed, the League did not yet exist. It was universal in principle, but not in fact. M. de Madariaga would go even further; he considered that every time the League of Nations was reproached with failure, that failure was due to the absence of universality.

An international spirit must be developed by means of active, positive, daily, but modest collaboration. Some did not desire that collaboration which must one day lead to peace, because it did not interest them. Not by dramatic or theatrical methods would peace

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be achieved, but by steady, general collaboration at all times. By sharing their difficulties and successes and the painful feeling that they could not do everything they desired, the nations would develop sufficient fellowship to give them a common background; but that involved a common conscience, and there could be no common conscience and no peace without solidarity.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1/</sup> Records of the Conference for the Reducation and Limitation of Armaments, Series B, Minutes of the General Commission (League of Nations publications IX, Disarmament 1932, IX. 64), vol. I, p.ll. The statement was made at the third meeting of the General Commission.